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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

COMMUNISTS IN NEW YORK.

From the N. Y. Times.

It has been said that the barbarians who threaten modern civilization are within its boundaries, not outside. It is no longer the savages from some distant and half-mythical Scythia, or the warlike barbarians of Scandinavia, who threaten the Empires and States of modern times. The dangerous enemies of every modern State are in her large cities. Few who are not conversant with the "dangerous classes" can have a conception what a thin crust, in all countries, separates the elegant and comfortable world from the barbaric and savage forces working among dense masses of ignorant human beings.

Public writers and preachers are inclined to look at this social explosion in Paris as something abnormal and horrible, and peculiar to France alone. It has indeed its peculiarly French horrors, but the dangerous and seething materials which give it its power are to be found in every large capital. In London, to-day, there is an immense multitude of human beings, ignorant, degraded, struggling eternally only to keep themselves above the black waves of misery about them, burrowing in all kinds of wretched dens and holes, full of envy toward the rich, easy to be inflamed by socialist agitators against the classes who for ages have had all the blessings of life, while to them were left its curses—a dark, boiling, explosive mass of population, which would only need an opportunity, such as the siege gave the Paris proletaires, to burst out with terrific violence against property, Government, and the Church itself. A similar, though less numerous, class exists in every capital of Europe.

Are we in the New World free from it? Let any of our readers make a tour through the cellars and slums of a single ward in this city, say the Fourth, or let him pass among the crowded tenement houses of the Twelfth or Seventeenth wards, and note the thousands of wretched creatures who hide in attics and cellars, poor, slovenly, and hard-pressed; the thousands who are more or less involved in criminal occupations; the tens of thousands who labor year after year, and never grasp one of the rich rewards of toil which hang in gilded display all around them. Let them talk with these people, and find how many believe that the poor and the laborers have never had a fair chance in the world, while capital has reaped all the blessings of existence; and then recall what a vast multitude of persons there are in this city who either have no home at all, or who "camp" here and there for a few nights, or who depend on each day's earnings for the day's bread, and he will be convinced that New York, like Paris, has beneath its brilliant and busy surface a volcano of deep passions and explosive social forces.

Only once in the history of the city did this terrible proletaire class show its revolutionary head. For a few days in 1863 New York seemed like Paris under the Reds in 1870. Our mob, in place of sacking churches, lums and plundered the houses of the benefactors of the white poor and the colored race. The cruelties inflicted by our "Reds" on the unhappy negroes quite equaled in atrocity anything that the French Reds perpetrated on their priests. Our "Communists" had already begun to move towards the houses of the rich, and the cry of war to property was already heard, when the spirited assistance of the United States soldiery enabled the better classes to put down the disturbance. But had the rioters been able to hold their own a week longer, had they plundered the banks, and begun to enjoy the luxuries of the rich, and been permitted to arm and organize themselves, we should have seen a communistic explosion in New York which would probably have left this city in ashes and blood. Every great city has within it the communistic elements of a revolution.

Our cities are in less danger than European cities, because there is no pressure on this proletaire class beyond the necessary inequalities of life. The American "ouvrier" always hopes to be a capitalist. Then our educational and reformatory movements are always reaching down, and gradually improving "the dan-gerous classes." The public school is the best preventive of revolution. The industrial school and the children's charities are transforming the youthful Communists into industrious, law-abiding, property-earning citizens.
All the influences of American life are continually tending to give the proletaires a permanent interest in the social order. These have only to be cherished and extended to gradually carry away the explosive forces beneath the surface of society, and make New York like our villages in one respect-that every citizen may have a pride and interest in its prosperity and its property.

PENSION PAUPERS. From the N. Y. Tribune. After all, there are always compensations. If our rogues and ruffians, by dint of adherence to the trade of politics, are sure in the end of municipal or Government offices, they are at least forced to stay in them as long as they draw their salaries. There is scarcely such a trick possible as creeping out of the public eye to a snug corner of a retired list, there to munch at a fat pension for the rest of their lives. If we would believe the Irish press, however, half of the peers and commoners in Great Britain have become greedy Jack Herners, and have made off with a piece of Government pie, each to find a plum for himself. The estimates for '71 bring to light some of the peculiar beauties of this system, and the tender care with which the Government provides for its nurslings. Any office-holder, choosing to retire after having served six months, receives two-thirds of his salary for the rest of his life. Even if his office is abolished as unnecessary, consolation is the same. list of these public beneficiaries includes every grade, from earls and viscounts to messengers in a jail. Sturdy John Bull in any rank appears equally ready to become a pauper provided Government 'is the alms-giver. Americans who are inclined to grumble at the salaries paid to the President or Cabinet should take a few facts from these estimates as an antidote. A door in the Chancery Court being closed eighteen years ago, its keeper has received since then \$32,900 for not keeping it. A clerk who was discussed as supernamerary thirty years ago from the same court has since been paid \$688,000; the pension to be continued seven years after his decease to his heirs. But he doesn't die -why should he? Good Americans, when they die, will no longer be sent to Paris but to England on a retired | Alabams claims prominently forward as the list. The present Lord Brougham, rettring | matter requiring adjustment, it may be that on a pension as Master in Ordinary, by the lone of the American grievances is the al-

simple expedient of entering his name twice on the list, receives not two-thirds, but the whole of his salary. Thus, even the refined gold of a pension may be regilded by a little judicious shrewdness. It is not necessary, either, that the pensioner should ever have held the office for whose loss he is paid. Certain influential personages are accustomed to make provision for their children at birth by entering them, male and female, on the the list of civil servants. One of these, whose babies appeared so frequently as to exhaust the patience of his colleagues, was forced to provide for the last in a small way, and entered the infant, scarce a week old, as "super-annuated postman." The postman is but lately dead, having drawn his subsidy for eighty years.

These are jokes to us, but death, or the sure signs of it, in any system of government to which they belong. Not English oak nor English loyalty will protect her ship of state against barnacles such as these.

-Yet one of our Washington functionaries, entering upon the discharge of his duties, has just discovered that his Bareau contains many clerks who are "guilty of worthlessness, to the prejudice of good order and civil service discipline." The astonished Commissioner, possibly heedless alike of 'influential connections" and a promised reform in the civil service, has begun to eliminate the objectionable persons. It is just possible that the Pension Bureau is not the only one in such unhappy plight.

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON. From the Pall Mall Gazette.

The full and authentic text of the Treaty of Washington does not correspond in all particulars with the accounts of it previously received through the telegraph and other channels. While, now that the instrument is completely known, we do not concur in the somewhat uncritical applause with which it has been received in certain quarters-and more especially while we fail to understand how a treaty of which the two principal negotiators belonged to opposite political parties can justly be styled by the Daily Telegraph a triumph of Mr. Gladstone's Governmentwe see no reason to withdraw the opinion which we gave on less perfect information, that this country may be well satisfied with the labors of the High Commission. Doubtless the most prominent clause which the treaty contains-the clause in which the Queen, on behalf of her subjects, expresses regret, "in a friendly spirit," for the "escape under whatever circumstances of the Alabama and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels"-is one which some former English Ministers would have had the greatest difficulty in swallowing, and it is perhaps unfortunate that the appetite of the present Government in such matters should be suspected of being a little too robust. But the clause should be interpreted in fairness by the circumstances under which it was framed. The treaty is not a lengthy document, nor is it much encumbered by detail, yet the time consumed in its preparation has been very considerable. It is probable, therefore, that its language in its most important articles has been very carefully considered, and the clause in question may be the fruit of a not uningenious compromise. By the Americans it will no doubt be understood, and was doubtless intended to be understood. as that apology on which they have all along let it be seen that they set more store than on any amount of compensation; that is, as an admission or confession on the part of the English Government that its predecessors, either by omission or by commission, wronged the United States in allowing the Confederate vessels to leave British ports. But, on the other hand, the words are probably meant to be read by Englishmen in their literal sense. We all regret that the Alabama escaped and committed her depredations. The ambiguity is skilfully concealed by the words "under whatever circumstances." If the equipment and departure of the Alabama had never been known to a soul in England beyond her builders, we should still be ready to say that

it was a great pity.

The clause defining the measure of the re-

sponsibility which is in future to attach to a neutral for permitting belligerent cruisers to be equipped in his territory, or to leave it, and which is to be applied retrospectively to the Alabama claims, differs materially from the descriptions of it which have been given heretofore. It neither places an absolute obligation on the neutral to prevent the act now made illegal, nor does it specifically make him liable for very slight negligence. A neutral Government is "to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction of any veswhich it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace, and also to use the like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on "war as above." Here the expressions "due diligence" and "reasonable ground" belong to the class of phrases which are employed by lawyers with the express object of avoiding the necessity of fixing a measure of responsibility. They practically involve an appeal to the common sense of some tribunal, like a jury, which adjudicates on the given case without rule. This peculiarity of the new provision is of little consequence so far as regards the decision on the Alabama claims, for the treaty establishes a board of arbitrators which, so far as those claims are concerned, will discharge the functions of a jury and make up its mind what, under the circumstance, was "due diligence" and a "reasonable ground" of belief. But, considered as a permanent provision of international law, the new rule is faulty through its indefiniteness. It seems to us that, in their future difficulties, nations may dispute as keenly, and indeed more keenly, what is "due diligence" and when does belief become "reasonable," as they have hitherto disputed the very nature of the rule to be applied. So far as regards the immediate question, the first of the two canons which are to determine British liability does not appear to us open to objection as too unqualified a concession. Assuming that the arbitrators thoroughly cousider the facts in a spirit of equity, nobody who is familiar with the story of the Alabama and her consorts is likely to believe that the Americans are likely to recover under a rule like this any exorbitant compensation. But we hesitate to give a similar opinion on the second of the two new canons. What is meant by an obligation "not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies, or arms, or recruitment of men?" The doubt attaches to this provision less as a new rule of international law than as a measure of Jiability in the Alabama case. The High Commission can hardly have adopted it unless some sort of claim had been submitted to which it applies. Since the preamble of the treaty puts the

mission of the Alabama into British ports under circumstances alleged to have turned those ports into a base of naval operations. But till the clause is explained, it may bear a more serious meaning. Is it really intended that the British Government shall be held answerable in damages, because blockade-runners carrying contraband of war waited their opportunity at Bermuda, or in some of the West Indian ports? A new rule of this sort would overthrow the whole theory of international law, and indeed it would be difficult to apply it unless the employment of London and Liverpool as ports from which vast supplies of arms and ammunition were despatched to the Northern States were taken into account as a set-off against the use to which the West Indies were put the runners of the Southern blockade. This second canon is one which demands the fullest explanation from the Government on behalf of the negotiators whenever the treaty is discussed by Parlia-

The general reasons for regarding the treaty, not exactly as a triumph of diplomatic management, but as an arrangement reasonably fair, on the whole, of a very awkward difficulty, remain pretty much what they were when its provisions were less perfectly ascertained. We may suspend our opinion on the second of the new international rules, and may regret that the first of them is rendered less useful than it might be by the defect in precision of which we have complained; but still this last rule will probably have some effect in future wars, and whatever effect it has must in the long run be advantageous to the power which, in the only case to which the treaty can apply, is very much more likely to be belligerent than neutral. The settlement of the dispute which has been rising or falling for six or seven years is also desired by all Englishmen, if it can be effected on honorable terms. No assertion might be made with more confidence of all of us than that we have not a particle of settled hostility to the Americans, and that even our transient fits of ill-humor with them are produced only by extreme provocation. We must be allowed to take the Queen's expression of regret for the Alabama misfortune a little in our own sense if we are to preserve our self-respect while acquiescing in it; but, that point conceded, we none of us object to pay handsomely for the removal of that danger of which the reality has been questioned, but of which the nature is pretty plainly indicated, as was recently pointed out by an American correspondent of the Times, in those strange and unnatural European alliances for which American diplomacy has of late years shown so strong a hankering. Meantime, though it is quite true that the Americans have gained considerable advautages in the final adjustment of the disputeas is always the case with the party least anxious to compromise a quarrel-they have, nevertheless, relinquished a good deal of the ground on which, to use their own phrase, they once "put down their foot." The absurd claim to be compensated for a premature recognition of belligerency, or for general unfriendliness, has been quietly surrendered; and as yet we do not know that even Mr. Sumner has noticed its abandonment.

EARL RUSSELL ON THE AMERICAN

TREATY. From the London Spectator. Earl Russell is to move a humble address to Her Majesty praying that she will refuse her assent to any agreement with the United States containing any rules "by which the arbitrator or arbitrators will be bound, other than the law of nations and the municipal law of the United Kingdom existing and in force at the period of the late civil war in the United States, when the alleged proceedings took place." We say we are pleased to see, because Earl Russell is the right man to bring forward the motion, he being mainly responsible for the escape of the Alabama, because the motion expresses courageously a feeling of discontent with the provisions of the treaty which is felt in many quarters, and which, however well-founded, ought to be removed, and because we detest that conspiracy of silence in regard to foreign affairs in which Parliament appears to us of late to have been engaged. What with its growing dread of expense, its new-born timidity of thought, and its accidental deficiency in knowledge of the subject, the House of Commons appears inclined to strike the department of Foreign Affairs altogether out of its programme, to leave the Ministry to do as they like, and to express its displeasure at their action only by ill-tempered votes on minor but safer subjects of dispute. No one rises to censure a tame despatch or an undignified abstention from interference, but everybody irritated by the blunder rushes to pay off the Foreign Office by voting down some proposition made by the Woods and Forests. Members vote for the Epping beeches because France ought to have been protected, and will not hear of a match-tax because Russia can put her ships once more en the waters of the Black Sea. If the House of Lords does not break the spell, the discussion of the foreign relations of the country will be left altogether to irresponsible journalists without official information, the nation will upon one grand subject of political thought be left without guides, and our whole Parliamentary system will in one most important branch of politics be shown to have broken down. If the practice of public discussion upon the foreign affairs of the empire is dangerous or inexpedient, or superfluous, then the whole machinery of Parliamentary government is pro tanto a failure, and we had better organize this great department anew on some exceptional basis. To keep up the appearance of responsibility to Parliament for all agreements or disagreements with foreign States, and forego all Parliamentary discussion of those transactions, is to surrender all the advantages which a silent and persevering diplomacy might secure, without receiving any one of the benefits which may be derived from the constant and interested support of the nation in every serious transaction. Let our diplomacy either be freed from the necessity of consulting an ill-informed popular opinion, or let it be strengthened by the conviction of all foreigners that this opinion, whether wise or foolish, is at all events behind the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Let us either have harmony or volume in the voice of our Foreign Office,

by occasional roars. We repeat, we are pleased to hear that Earl Russell will propose, without disguise or circumioention, the rejection of the Washington Treaty, for that treaty must then be debated out and shown, as we are certain it can be shown, to be for the best and most permanent interests of both the peoples concerne i. Nothing could be more dangerous to the cordiality of our relations with the United States than for the electors to fancy that their Government had betrayed the country into an undignified attitude, and they are sure, without full debate, to entertain that fancy. Earl Russell will tell them so plainly-he does tell them so, in the very words of his motion-

and not, as at present, a feeble warble, broken

and his taunts will fall on minds prepared for their reception by two very powerful ideas. One is that the present Ministry is always submissive in every foreign transaction, and the other is that a retrospective enactment can never be substantially just. They require to be told, and told by responsible statesmen, as well as by journal ists, that the Ministry, whatever its attitude in Europe, has in America always been firm: that it did not shrink in the dangerous question of the claims of the American Irish to special immunities in Ireland; that it put down Riel's rebellion at the risk of all mauper of complications; that it snubbed Mr. Fish's own argument, through Lord Clarendon, with even too much of intellectual gusto; that it silently defied all Mr. Sumner's threats, and that at this moment and in this transaction it is acting under no coercion whatever except the coercion of sound policy and of the national conscience. Nobody, not even Mr. Sumner, is threatening us. We are only asked in regular form and with all respect to see if the lawyers on both sides cannot terminate an extremely disagreeable and long-standing quarrel by some reasonable arrangement. If in making that arrangement the agents of the country have given up a little too much-which we deny-it has been under no coercion and no menace, but solely from a belief that as the quarrel arose on a matter of feeling, some concession to feeling is needful to re establish permanent friendship. The particular concession does not in that point of view matter a straw. A principle is laid down by agreement, and whether it is new or old, retrospective or prospective, taken from Story, or taken from Blackstone, or invented for the occasion, it is, if we are content with it, only a part of the bargain frankly accepted by both sides. It is an unsigned deed accepted by litigants to be valid for their mutual convenience. The prejudice which Earl Russell would fain excite rests upon a false analogy. When a legislature passes a penal enactment making an act to have been crime which when it was committed was not criminal, it does a highly oppressive thing, because it uses irresistible power to break a contract without the assent of the feebler contracting party. Nothing but the right of self-preservation could justify an act like Strafford's attainder, perhaps in strict morality not even that. But in this American affair there is no oppression from above, no submission from below, nothing but a contract, good or bad according to its policy, freely made between equals, and subject before ratification to rejection by either of the countries to which their commissioners have suggested it as a basis of conciliation. There is no more reason why a new principle, approved by Parliament, should be objected to as a basis of peace, than why an old one should; no more humiliation in accepting a law made for the nonce as a basis of agreement, than in accepting an unsent letter as if it had been sent. If, indeed, Earl Russell objects to the new principle itself, then indeed he has a strong case; but that is not the point of his motion, nor on that can be hope for any influential support. The country is quite agreed that it ought in its own interest to discourage private declarations of war, and all the commissioners propose is to declare that Great Britain ought to have made that her rule when the Alabama went forth. "I wish. Jonathan, I had thought of that before. Sup-On Monday next, we are pleased to see, pose we make up the account as if I had carl Russell is to move a humble address to thought of it?" What is there humiliating in such a contract as that?

There is another and much more serious objection to the treaty which will be raised in the debate, but not, as we suspect, by the mover of the address. It is stated on some authority that the Dominion has a right to a voice in the matter. It is her property which, under the Fisheries clause, is apparently to be sold. We trust the statement now in circulation may prove unfounded, and that the Dominion, which was fully represented on the commission, will abstain from any remonstrance against the teaty; but if unhappily the Canadian Parliament should decide otherwise, the British Government, as we conceive, has but one course to pursue. It must go on with the treaty. The incident will reveal in a strong light the necessity which exists for a revision of the relation between the great colonies and ourselves, for novel arrangement some shall permit the colonies to interfere more directly in diplomacy affecting themselves, but for the past there can be no direct help. The British Government being bound to protect the Dominion from attack, claim in return, as their first prerogative, an ultimate centrol over their foreign policy, an ultimate right of negotiating in the interests of the Empire, even when they interfere, or seem to interfere, with the interests of the province. Those interests may be much more directly represented at home, as, for example, the interests of India are; but the voice of the Empire, when uttered, must always be single and undisputed. Any pressure to be exercised must be exercised here and pending negotiations, and not there and after negotiations have achieved their beneficial consepolicy of the whole Empire to the policy of a

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